

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 KABUL 06058 01 OF 02 291009Z  
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
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R 290640Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4215  
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 6058

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, AF, PK  
SUBJ: PAKISTAN EMBASSY PERCEPTIONS OF PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS

1. SUMMARY: ON AUGUST 21, CHARGE HAD HOUR AND A HALF DISCUSSION WITH PAK EMBASSY DCM TANVIR AHMAD KHAN, DURING WHICH TANVIR DISCUSSED ENTIRE RANGE OF PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. RELATIONS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN, TANVIR SAID, COULD BE DESCRIBED AS GOOD AND CORRECT - BUT NOT CORDIAL. OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS, THE ONCE STRAINED RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES HAD SLOWLY IMPROVED, AND THE FIRST TWO DAOUD-BHUTTO MEETINGS HAD BEEN VERY USEFUL TO THIS END. BY CONTRAST, THE THIRD DAOUD-BHUTTO MEETING HELD LAST JUNE HAD CONTRIBUTED NOTHING, HE SAID, AND HAD BEEN HELD LARGELY FOR INTERNAL PAK POLITICAL PURPOSES.

3. AS REGARDS GOA PRESS TREATMENT OF PRESENT PAK INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS, TANVIR SAID THAT THE GOP HAD NO COMPLAINTS.  
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PAGE 02 KABUL 06058 01 OF 02 291009Z

EVER SINCE THE PAK ELECTION TROUBLES OF LAST SPRING, THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN VERY CIRCUMSPECT. FOR A TIME, THE GOA-CONTROLLED PRESS HAD PRINTED NOTHING ABOUT PAKISTAN; NOW PRESS ITEMS WERE APPEARING, BUT THE GOA WAS ALWAYS CAREFUL TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE SOURCE WAS SOME FOREIGN NEWS AGENCY. NO GOA OPINION OR ANALYSIS WAS EVER GIVEN.

4. THE PAK EMBASSY, TANVIR SAID, DID NOT EXPECT ANY IMPROVEMENT IN BILATERAL TIES OR FURTHER PAK-AFGHAN TALKS UNTIL AFTER THE FALL ELECTIONS AND THE FORMATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT. IN GOA EYES, THE ONLY STUMBLING BLOCK TO BETTER RELATIONS RELATED TO THE OLD ISSUE OF THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUSHTUN PEOPLE IN PAKISTAN AND MORE SPECIFICALLY TO THE HYDERABAD TRIALS OF MANGAL AND WALI KHAN. TANVIR PRIVATELY ACCUSED THE BHUTTO GOVERNMENT OF LARGELY BRINGING ABOUT THE EARLIER BAD RELATIONS BY HIS CURBING AND THEN SUPPRESSING OF THE NAP IN NWFP. HE SAID THAT IF LATER THIS YEAR A NEW GOP COULD SEE ITS WAY TO ALLOW THE PEOPLE OF THE NWFP TO EXERCISE MORE POLITICAL EXPRESSION, TANVIR WAS SURE THIS WOULD CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY TO IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS. HE ALSO FELT IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT THE GOP FIND SOME FACE-SAVING WAY TO RELEASE MANGAL AND WALI FHAN (MANGAL HAS SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN RELEASED).

5. WHEN I ASKED IF THE PAK EMBASSY BELIEVED THAT THE DAOUD GOVERNMENT SOUGHT AN ADJUSTMENT OF THE DURAND LINE, TANVIR SAID IT WAS THEIR ASSESSMENT THAT THIS WAS NOT SO. ALTHOUGH THE DAOUD GOVERNMENT HAD NOT FORMALLY AFFIRMED THE BOUNDARY DURING THE FIRST TWO DAOUD-BHUTTO MEETINGS, IT WAS CLEAR FROM THE DISCUSSIONS THAT TOOK PLACE THAT DAOUD DID NOT INTEND TO TRY TO CHANGE THE FRONTIER. FOR INTERNAL AFGHAN POLITICAL REASONS, HOWEVER, DAOUD COULD NEVER STATE THIS PUBLICLY.

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PAGE 03 KABUL 06058 01 OF 02 291009Z

6. AS FOR THE PUSHTUNISTAN ISSUES, THE PAK EMBASSY THOUGHT THAT THERE HAD BEEN A SIGNIFICANT LESSENING OF THE GOA'S FLOGGING OF THIS ISSUE. ALTHOUGH THE PUSHTUNISTAN FLAG STILL FLIES OVER KABUL'S PUSHTUNISTAN SQUARE, THE DECIBEL COUNT ABOUT PUSHTUNISTAN WAS NOW LOWER THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE DAOUD CAME TO POWER. (WE, OF COURSE, WILL BE MONITORING THE GOA'S HANDLING OF THEIR PUSHTUNISTAN DAY FESTIVITIES ON AUGUST 31.)

7. WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE PROMINENT PAK EXILE IN KABUL, AJMAL KHATTAK, TANVIR SAID THAT THEY WERE NETIEHR WORRIED NOR EMBARRASSED ABOUT HIM. PAK EMBASSY OFFICERS OCCASIONALLY RAN INTO KHATTAK AND BOTH SIDES EXCHANGED CIVIL GREETINGS. QUERIED ABOUT KHATTAK'S ALLEGED LEFTIST LEANINGS, TANVIR SAID THAT KHATTAK WAS A "FAKE LEFTIST, IN FACT LESS OF A LEFTIST THAN BHUTTO HIMSELF". TANVIR ADDED THAT THE PAK EMBASSY WAS SURE THAT KHATTAK RECEIVED FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN.

8. COMMENT: WE HAVE FAIRLY SOLID INFORMATION DOCUMENTING AJMAL KHATTAK'S FORMAL TIES WITH THE PAKISTAN COMMUNIST PARTY AS A MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND HIS ROLE AS INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN THE PAKISTAN PARTY AND THE PARCHAM/KHALQ

PARTY IN AFGHANISTAN. TO DESCRIBE KHATTAK SIMPLY AS A COMMUNIST WOULD PROBABLY CATEGORIZE TOO NEATLY A MAN WHO ABOVE ALL ELSE IS A PUSHTUN NATIONALIST TO WHOM THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT VEHICLE TO HIS ENDS. KHATTAK IS ALSO SKILLED AS PORTRAYING HIMSELF AS MANY THINGS TO MANY PEOPLE; HE HAS TAILORED HIS IDEOLOGY APPROPRIATELY IN THE PAST DURING CONVERSATIONS VARIOUS DIPLOMATS IN KABUL. ADDITIONALLY, WE HAVE RECEIVED INDICATIONS THAT AFGHAN GOVT ASSISTANCE TO KHATTAK HAS PROBABLY DROPPED OFF TO A SUBSISTENCE LEVEL AND DOES NOT INVOLVE FINANCING OF OPERATIONS INTO PAKISTAN. TANVIR'S BLITHE DISMISSAL OF KHATTAK'S TROUBLE-MAKING ROLE IN THE PAST BELIES THE INTENSE CONCERN OF THE PAKISTANI GOVT DURING THE NAP TRIAL IN 1976 IN WHICH KHATTAK'S NAME AND ACTIVITIES FIGURES MOST PROMINENTLY. END COMMENT. CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 KABUL 06058 01 OF 02 291009Z

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 KABUL 06058 02 OF 02 291016Z  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KABUL 6058

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

9. REGARDING THE AFGHANISTAN INTERNAL SCENE, TANVIR SAID IT WAS THE GOP'S PRINCIPAL INTEREST THAT THERE BE POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE COUNTRY AND NO DOMINANCE BY THE SOVIET UNION. THE EMBASSY WAS WORRIED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF INSTABILITY

SHOULD DAOUD SUDDENLY PASS FROM THE SCENE. IN PAKISTAN'S EYES, DAOUD HAD STEADILY MATURED SINCE 1973, AND THE GOP NOW FELT IT COULD LIVE WITH HIM. A SUCCESSOR COULD BE MUCH WORSE, HE SAID.

10. ASKED ABOUT AIR LINKS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, TANVIR CONFIRMED THAT ARIANA HAS NOT YET INAUGURATED AIR SERVICE BETWEEN KABUL AND LAHORE, AND HE DID NOT KNOW WHEN THIS MIGHT COME ABOUT. AS FOR PIA'S TWICE-A-WEEK FLIGHT BETWEEN PESHAWAR AND KABUL, HE SAID CAPACITY WAS LIMITED BY AGREEMENT TO NO MORE THAN 20 PASSENGERS. FLIGHTS FROM KABUL TO PESHAWAR WERE NOW BOOKED WEEKS IN ADVANCE BECAUSE OF HAJ TRAFFIC.

1. BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: TANVIR SAID HE EXPECTED TO RETURN TO ISLAMABAD VERY SOON TO BECOME DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR AFGHAN-  
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PAGE 02 KABUL 06058 02 OF 02 291016Z

IRAN-TURKEY AFFAIRS. HE SAID HE WAS VERY PLEASED AT THE PROSPECT, FOR IT REPRESENTED A PROMOTION. IT WILL HAVE BEEN EIGHT YEARS, HE SAID, SINCE HE SERVED IN ISLAMABAD.  
AMSTUTZ

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Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009